

## Message Text

PAGE 01 USUN N 04789 01 OF 02 150312Z

71

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

----- 129262

O 150229Z NOV 73 ZFF-6

FM USMISSION USUN NEWYORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1130

USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 4789

EXDIS

TOKYO FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR UN KS KN CH

SUBJ: KOREA IN 28TH GA: SITUATION AS OF NOVEMBER 14

REF: USUN 4751

SUMMARY: AS OF FIRST DAY OF KOREA DEBATE, WE STILL HAVE CHINESE REASSURANCE ON COMMITMENT BUT HAVE NO GUARANTEE THAT THEY WILL SUCCEED IN BRINGING ALL OTHER DPRK COSPONSORS ALONG. I AM CONVINCED THAT WE SHOULD GIVE HUANG MORE TIME AND THAT WE MEANWHILE SHOULD ACT IN PHASE WITH HIM. ROK AND OTHER KEY COSPONSORS AGREE. WE ALL ALSO AGREE THAT FALLBACK PLANNING MUST GO FORWARD THE KEY COSPONSORS DELEGATIONS ARE ENGAGED IN THIS WITH ROK. PUBLIC DROPPING OF MEMBERSHIP PARA IS ONE ALTERNATIVE. AMENDMENTS TO HOSTILE RES OR NEW THIRD DRAFT ARE OTHER POSSIBILITIES. I NEED FLEXIBILITY FOR DEALING WITH HUANG AND FOR WORKING WITH ROK AND KEY COSPONSORS WHO CONTINUE TO ENDORSE FOR PRESENT OUR COMMITMENT TO HUANG. END SUMMARY.

1. ALTHOUGH OUR TIMETABLE HAS BEEN SET BACK, HUANG AND HIS STAFF HAVE CONTINUED, IN VIRTUALLY EVERY CONTACT WITH US, TO REAFFIRM CHINESE COMMITMENT TO CONSENSUS  
SECRET

PAGE 02 USUN N 04789 01 OF 02 150312Z

OUTCOME. HUANG LAST NIGHT AT LEAST THREE TIMES GAVE HIS REASSURANCE -- AT ONE POINT HE EXPANDED TO SAY THAT HE WOULD PURSUE GOAL "WITH ALL RESOURCES AT OUR COMMAND." AT ANOTHER POINT HE SAID "WE HAVE CONFIDENCE IN OUR NORTH KOREAN

FRIENDS."

2. WE DO NOT KNOW FOR CERTAIN WHY OTHER SIDE HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO ADHERE TO SCHEDULE PROPOSED NOV 9. NEITHER DO WE REALLY KNOW MUCH ABOUT THEIR CONSULTATIONS. HUANG LAST NIGHT OFFERED SOME DETAILS TO EXPLAIN DELAY: FAILURE TO ANTICIPATE DIFFICULTY IN CONTACTING CORE GROUP OVER WEEKEND; ALLEGED PRESS LEAKS (USUN 4752) ON US-PRC NEGOTIATIONS; LAST MINUTE ARRIVAL OF DPRK DELEGATION CHAIRMAN; UNEXPECTED ALGERIAN MESSAGE ON KOREA ISSUE (ALGIERS 2379). ACCORDING TO HUANG, THESE HAVE BEEN FACTORS MAKING EVEN MORE COMPLICATED AN ALREADY COMPLEX AND DELICATE OPERATION, ONE WHICH PRESUMABLY HINGES IN PART ON PREVENTING SOVIETS FROM USING OPPOSITION TO CONSENSUS AS WEAPON AGAINST PC. WHILE DETAILED REASONS HUANG HAS OFFERED FOR DELAY PROBABLY ARE GERMANE, WE ARE NOT CONFIDENT HERE THAT ANY OF THEM IS KEY. I SUSPECT THAT THE SECRETARY'S PRESENCE IN CHINA PLAYED PART IN DELAY, AS HAS PROSPECT OF VISITS TO TOKYO AND SEOUL. PERHAPS CHINESE LAST WEEK WERE IN SUCH RUSH TO OBTAIN OUR COMMITMENT HERE BECAUSE THEY WISHED TO BE ABLE TO PRESENT MY AGREEMENT TO NORTH KOREANS AS ONE THAT HAD NOT BEEN WORKED OUT BY THE SECRETARY IN PEKING. IT MAY EVEN BE THAT CHINESE HAVE NOT YET TOLD NORTH KOREANS THAT WE HAVE ALREADY AGREED, AND THIS MAY BE MAJOR FACTOR IN EXTREME CHINESE CONCERN THAT WORLD OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS WOULD LEAK OUT. RE PEKING FACTOR, HUANG DENIED TO ME LAST NIGHT THAT DELAY WAS RELATED IN ANY WAY TO PEKING VISIT.

3. I BELIEVE THAT HUANG, WHATEVER REASONS FOR DELAY, MEANS WHAT HE TELLS ME ABOUT COMMITMENT; CHINESE APPEAR DETERMINED TO SUCCEED IN THIS EXERCISE. WE WANT THEM TO SUCCEED IN THIS EXERCISE, AS DELICATE AND NERVE-RACKINGLY PROTRACTED AS IT MAY BE. OUR KEY ALLIES, INCLUDING ROK, ARE PREPARED TO ACT FOR PRESENT ON OUR SHARED ASSUMPTION THAT HUANG MEANS WHAT HE SAYS. FONMIN KIM IS CONVINCED THAT CONSENSUS OUTCOME WOULD DRAMATICALLY ENHANCE CONTEXT IN WHICH KIM FORESEES PURSUIT OF DIALOGUE WITH NORTH, AND  
SECRET

PAGE 03 USUN N 04789 01 OF 02 150312Z

POSSIBLY WITH PEKING.

4. ROK AND SUPPORTERS ARE THUS WILLING TO CONTINUE TO ACCEPT CHINESE INTENTION AT FACE VALUE AND TO ADJUST OUR TACTICS IN MANNER THAT WILL, FOLLOWING HUANG'S JUDGMENT OF PROBLEMS ON HIS OWN SIDE, ENHANCE POSSIBILITY OF SUCCESS.

5. AS REPORTED LAST NIGHT, HOWEVER, NEITHER WE NOR ROK NOR OTHER INTIMATES BELIEVE WE SHOULD RELAX. WE ALL RECOGNIZE THAT CHINESE MAY NOT BE ABLE TO BRING THIS OFF; THERE ARE TOO MANY UNKNOWNNS AND THERE HAS BEEN TOO MUCH SLIPPAGE ALREADY FOR US TO SIT BACK.

SECRET

PAGE 01 USUN N 04789 02 OF 02 150322Z

71

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

----- 129342

O 150229Z NOV 73 ZFF-6

FM USMISSION USUN NEWYORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1131

USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 4789

EXDIS

TOKYO FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

6. IN FACILITATING HUANG'S EFFORTS, WE HAVE LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO BE GUIDED BY HIS JUDGEMENT. WE MUST INSIST ON CONFIDENTIALITY, ALTHOUGH SECRETARY'S VISIT TO SEOUL WILL HEIGHTEN PROBING SPECULATION. PRESS HANDLING REQUIRES SPECIAL CARE. WE MUST MINIMIZE US-PRC CORRIDOR CONTACTS; WE MUST DAMPEN ANY SPECULATION THAT US AND PRC ARE INVOLVED IN NEGOTIATING A DEAL AT SAME TIME AS WE ENCOURAGE RUMORS THAT OTHER SMALLER POWERS AFFILIATED WITH EITHER SIDE ARE LOOKING FOR COMPROMISE. ROK ITSELF MADE DECISION AGAINST COSPONSORS' MEETING TODAY (AFTER WE HAD OBTAINED CHINESE AGREEMENT) DECIDING INSTEAD THAT ATMOSPHERE HELPFUL TO HUANG COULD BE BETTER PRESERVED BY APPROACHING COSPONSORS BILATERALLY AS MEANS TO RETAIN THEIR SUPPORT WITHOUT REVEALING US-PRC NEGOTIATIONS TO DATE.

7. IN PROVIDING FOR OUR OWN PROTECTION IN LATTER EVENTUALITY, WE AND KEY COSPONSORS HERE ARE AGREED THAT WE MUST PREPARE FOR FAILURE OF CONSENSUS EFFORT, WE ARE STUDYING VARIOUS TACTICS THAT MIGHT BE EMPLOYED AT VARIOUS STAGES. AMONG THESE IS POSSIBILITY OF PUBLICLY DROPPING MEMBERSHIP PARA, PURSUANT TO HUMMEL-HAN CONVERSATION OF NOV 6. AMENDMENT OF HOSTILE RES IS ANOTHER. AT LAST EVENING'S STAFF LEVEL MEETING OF KEY COSPONSORS, ROK MISSION TABLED A ROUGHT DRAFT OF  
SECRET

PAGE 02 USUN N 04789 02 OF 02 150322Z

DIFFERENCE TYPE OF CONSENSUS STATEMENT DESIGNED TO ADD SUPPORT FROM SOME NONALIGNED. UK'S "PERSONAL DRAFT," TABLED TEN DAYS AGO IN WORKING GROUP, HAS ALSO BEEN REVIVED FOR CONSIDERATION, AS HAS INFORMAL DEPT DRAFT OF NOV 8.

8. FIRST COMMITTEE DEBATE ON KOREA SCHEDULED TO CLOSE NOV 27, BUT, OF COURSE, IF SPEAKERS LIST IS SHORT VOTING MIGHT COME EARLIER. IF CHINESE SEEM TO BE INDEFINITELY DELAYING (FOR WHATEVER REASONS) AND IF WE HAVE NO REALLY CREDITABLE GUARANTEE, OF SUCCESS OF CONSENSUS SCENARIO, POINT EVENTUALLY WILL COME WHERE WE WILL HAVE TO CUT THIS COMPROMISE EFFORT AND TURN ELSEWHERE, EMPLOYING ONE OF CONTINGENCY PLANS NOW UNDER STUDY OR SOME VARIATION.

9. WHILE WE ARE WORKING WITH ROK AND KEY COSPONSORS ON CONTINGENCY PLANS I NEED TO PRESERVE FLEXIBILITY TO CONSULT COSPONSORS AND TO DEAL WITH CHINESE.

10. I WOULD BE HIGHLY EMBARRASSED WITH ROK FONMIN AND WITH OUR KEY SUPPORTERS (SOME OF WHOM HAVE BEEN CRITICAL ABOUT OUR INEVITABLY LIMITED CONSULTATIONS IN PAST WEEK) IF WE SHOULD ACT -- HERE OR ELSEWHERE -- WITHOUT ADEQUATE CONSULTATIONS.

11. AS FOR MY DEALINGS WITH HUANG, WE ARE STILL FULLY COMMITTED TO ACT IN STEP, CONSULTING EACH OTHER ALONG WAY. I AND ALLIES HERE WILL BE ALERT TO NEED TO RECOMMEND ANY ALTERNATIVE LINE OF ACTION, SHOULD ONE BE NECESSARY.  
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